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ABSTRACT

This essay on the psychological costs and profits of biculturalism attempts to clear away some of the confusion surrounding the concept of "ethnic identity" as it is applied to Americans of Japanese ancestry; and to suggest ways in which it might be used effectively--both in psychocultural research and in public education. In the course of a comparative study of aging and inter-generational relations among Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans in San Francisco, the authors developed the concepts discussed in this paper. The traditional culture (ancestral traditions in the country of origin) and the subculture (Japanese-American community culture) of the Japanese Americans are discussed. In addition, ethnic consciousness in relation to identity and self-image is explored. Particularly, differing attitudes toward the Japanese-American relocation during the war and other minority groups are examined. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (Author/JW)

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Biculturalism: Psychological Costs and Profits

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BICULTURALISM: PSYCHOLOGICAL COSTS AND PROFITS

The psychological problems of "marginal man" have been a concern of anthropologists for at least three decades. This is exemplified in the contributions of Margaret Mead, Victor Barnouw, A. I. Hallowell, the Spindlers, George DeVos and William Caudill, and in much biographical and clinical reporting, such as the collections of Joseph Casagrande and Georgene Seward. It is no news to anthropologists that the retention of ethnic folkways in the face of pressure to abandon them can be psychologically integrating and stabilizing. Likewise, rapid acculturation, like any rapid cultural change, tends to set generation against generation, the mobile elements against the stable, and the individual against himself. Although these findings have been characteristically slow to filter into the general American consciousness--a fact clearly reflected in educational policy until the late 1960's--they have suddenly become politically important.

The civil rights movement has inspired among all non-Anglo groups in this country a demand for the means to self-respect. Often this demand is cast in terms of the vague and quaintly academic yet somehow compelling concept of "ethnic identity." Our purpose is to try to clear away some of the confusion surrounding this concept as it applied to Americans of Japanese ancestry, and to suggest ways in which it might be used effectively, both in psychocultural research and in public education.

We have been engaged in a comparative study of aging and inter-generational relations among Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo Americans in San Francisco for about three years now. The concepts discussed in this paper were developed in the course of this research. Some of these ideas are incorporated in a proposal for a three year study of ethnic identity which we recently submitted to the National Institutes of Health.

Ethnicity. For both conceptual and procedural reasons, we have found it useful to distinguish between three common uses of the concept of ethnicity. First of all, the term has been used to refer to an ancestral tradition or traditional culture in which immigrants to one country were reared in their countries of origin. It should be noted that the traditional culture of older immigrants may no longer be a reality because of change and technological development in the home country. Thus, the culture of pre-war Japan is the ancestral tradition of issei now living in San Francisco--the developments and changes of the post-war era in Japan are not a part of their personal environments. Thus, we sometimes find that immigrant communities are more "traditional" than are contemporary residents of the mother country. In this discussion we will not use the term ethnicity in this sense, but will rather refer to traditional culture when this concept is required.

A second way of defining ethnicity is as a subculture within American society. Ethnic groups in the cities of the world often bear little resemblance to ancestral tribal or peasant societies. To be sure, some recognizable remnants of African village culture, for instance, can still be discerned, despite slavery, in American Negro societies--particularly in the West Indies and parts of South America--but many other Africanisms (or at least imaginative American facsimilies of them) have been purposely reintroducted among Blacks in the United States as cultivated symbols of black brotherhood. American groups of Mexican, Japanese, or Chinese ancestry retain even more of the parent tradition (including considerable use of the native language). However, a young sansei obviously lives in a different world from the now-historical village or town in Japan from which his grandparents emigrated forty or fifty years ago.

One needs, therefore, to distinguish between traditional culture and subculture, as we are using the terms here. The subculture began with and includes a set of cultural traditions imported from abroad, but this has been supplemented with and modified by borrowings from other American groups and developments resulting from unique experiences the group has had since their settlement in the United States.

One needs also to distinguish between subculture and minority group status. Each of the various ethnic minority groups in the United States has a subculture quite different from the others,in spite of similarities they may share in social status or economic condition. Socio-political events such as slavery, relocation and confiscation of ancestral lands have provided distinctive histories of contect with the majority society and have augmented this cultural diversity. Each of these unique historical factors, when added to the different ancestral traditions and to the more generic minority status factors such as discrimination, general xenophobia,often poverty and segregation, has created the subcultural character of a particular community.

A third view of ethnicity needs to be distinguished as a separate concept for purposes of studying identity. In this sense ethnicity is the "consciousness of kind" (Lowie, 1948) that gives a sense of social relatedness and coherence to the minority group member's existence in a multicultural milieu. It is necessary to make this distinction because the subcultural concept, which can clarify many theoretical social and historical issues, is too abstract when one moves to the study of personal meaning attached to ethnicity. No individual in a multicultural milieu shares with his ethnic brethren the same information about his subculture, nor about the cultures of other groups around him. It is sometimes suggested that for this reason the concept of "ethnic group" is often

useless in discussions of urban society. Most urbanites of most ethnic minorities, however, would disagree with this notion. They feel themselves to be members of a very coherent and real group (even when they do not grasp their relationship to it clearly) and the feeling is often extremely important to them. This sense of ethnicity--this ethnic consciousness is what concerns us most in this paper. We can outline some of its features at the start:

1) Sense of ethnicity is one of several components of a bicultural identity, made up of racial, social class, and subcultural factors interacting with individual components such as statuses and identifications. In other words, ethnic consciousness requires a pluralistic view of human society. It is in essence a comparative concept, requiring an out-group referrent to give it specific meaning.

2) The salience and content of the ethnic component vary according to the role the individual is playing, and the characteristics of the setting in which it is played. Furthermore, variations in the individual's ethnic consciousness are independent of the display of subcultural traits in his behavior.

3) The overall saliency of the ethnic consciousness factor and its contents varies according to developmental and milieu changes. As the individual matures and ages, and as he acquires new roles and statuses and abandons old ones, the meanings of ethnic factors in his total consciousness change.

Identity. Identity refers to that cognitive structure which gives a sense of coherence, continuity, and social relatedness to one's image of oneself. It is that background structure of idealized, felt, and feared ego states and their associated symbols from which the self-image is drawn. By the term "background" we mean that it is largely unconscious at any

given time, and must be inferred from various sorts of behavior and fantasy production. By the term "structure" we mean that the images and symbols are related to each other and to the objective world in an internally coherent, dynamic system.

Self-image refers to the conscious product of identity interacting with the objective world. It is the feeling of oneself-as-a-whole at a given moment, resulting from evaluations of how-one-is-doing with respect to one's milieu. Self-image thus includes such elements of the "generalized reality orientation" (Shore, 1969) as body image, personal resources and weaknesses, likes and dislikes, and statuses.

Identity theory differs from conventional personality theory largely in the respect that the latter is concerned with the explanation of behavior in terms of more-or-less universal human drives, and is therefore less sensitive to the continuous interaction of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup processes (Wallace, 1967). Thus, if we find that a person is fastidious to a self-destructive extent about some things, and pathologically messy about others, we say that compulsivity is a personality trait of his, probably deriving from some disruption in his bio-psychological maturation (the anal phase, if we are Freudians). In terms of identity theory, on the other hand, we might say that he has learned in his interaction with others to fear both "slovenly" and "rigid-conformist" as identity aspects, and that he is overcompensating for the conflict this generates in his identity system.

Both conscious and unconscious identification with real or imagined others must also be distinguished from identity per se. First, the case of an individual who could not perceive himself as distinct from another would be pathological, so we can say that normal individuals have at

least semi-independent identities. Nor is the perception of social relatedness dependent on identification with a group. A good example of asocial identification is given in Erikson's study of George Bernard Shaw, who identified himself with Wagner, Ibsen, and other figures from the realm of "The Might Dead" (Erikson, 1960).

Secondly, we include in our concept of identity the unconscious organizing activity which is necessary to give personal meaning to identifications. Thus, identification with a "generalized other" such as an ethnic group might require relatively little distortion of observable reality--the generalized other can be sufficiently vague and diffuse that one can easily ignore those characteristics of it that do not fit one's immediate perception of self--but what one chooses to ignore, and why, and whether by repression or reinterpretation we include as the dynamic aspects of identity. Aside from the fact that identification with an ethnic group is rarely (if ever) so complete that the individual sees himself as <u>nothing but</u> an ethnic, that part of his identity which we call ethnic is always more than mere conscious identification with his ethnic group.

"Ethnic identity," then, refers to the sense of coherence, continuity, and social relatedness which the individual derives from the perception of himself as a member of an ethnic group. This ethnic component of the total identity is in constant interaction with other components, and is constantly subject to re-testing as the individual develops throughout the lifecycle, and as his milieu changes. Such changes may cause anxiety, which may in turn force a reorganization of the identity, either reinforcing or devaluating its ethnic component. On this point we differ from Eric Erikson, who portrays identity development as following a fairly predictable pattern. During puberty, sexual components naturally become salient, and

during adolescence and early adulthood, these aspects of identity that bear on feelings of economic worth also gain saliency as a rule. Racial differences in appearance and ethnic differences in sex role are important issues in the development of sexual identity in a multicultural society, as are economic differences due to minority group status in the development of the identity aspects of work and productivity. However, sexuality and work are never settled issues, and their structuring in the identity is never settled either. To the extent that these things are involved in the development of ethnic identity, it, too, remains problematic throughout the lifecycle.

Keeping this in mind, let us examine some ways in which the ethnic components of identity affect the early adult period of development in Japanese Americans today. Most young Japanese Americans are members of the third generation in America--that is, "sansei." As such, their identities are thoroughly bicultural; they combine significant elements of both ethnic and non-ethnic origin. For illustrative purposes, we will sketch broadly two types of identity which appear to be common among our sansei subjects, and one type which is rare, but important. We do not claim that the list is comprehensive. In fact, we have little information about delinquent youth, or about such divergent Japanese-American communities as Hawaii, Chicago, Seattle, or Los Angeles. Nor have we time to discuss the etiology of these types in detail, nor to do justice to the very important question of sex differences.

Type 1, which we will call the ethnic socialized type, is by far the most common. The major reference groups of individuals of this type are the family, the ethnic peer-group, and the local subcultural community. Their values revolve around academic and nonacademic achievement in a way that looks at first like mainstream American middle-class behavior. However, they differ from the non-ethnic middle-

class in some important ways: their concerns with the evaluations of their peers and community is much more characteristic of the so-called "peer group society" which Herb Gans identified with the urban working class. These individuals have essentially been socialized to the way of life of the subcultural community. They draw a great sense of belonging from participation in local community-based clubs and churches, neighborhood sansei school cliques and dating circles, and activities involving the family. Most important, for the student of ethnic identity, they rely heavily on ethnic patterns of speech and dress, public behavior, leisure use, and values concerning kin, work, and community.

For these individuals, consciousness of ethnic patterns is not only unnecessary, but often creates great discomfort, and is studiously avoided. The discomfort arises from the subtle but persistent pressures toward "assimilation" which the individual gets in many of his non-ethnic contacts. To the extent that these non-ethnic contacts become socializing influences, they tend to set up conflicts of identity.

The character of this bicultural identity conflict itself is succinctly described by George DeVos and William Caudill in their study of the nisei in Chicago, nearly 20 years ago. Cultural conflict is escaped through the mechanism of externalizing the locus of control. The individual's perception of his own behavior unconsciously takes the form, "now I am caused to do this." From the standpoint of identity dynamics, this allows the individual to maintain a consistent image of himself while behaving in apparently contradictory ways. The social environment is seen as the seat of moral power, and the self as wisely able to comprehend, accept, and manipulate that power. This is a very common way of handling conflict in many societies, including Japan, and it seems to work quite well, as long as identification with adequate

role models is reasonably complete. We think it is sadly misleading to label this kind of defense "fatallstic" or "passive," because these terms obscure the positive functions of the defense. The well-defended ego ordinarily encompasses many conflict-free functions, whereby creativity and initiative are possible. A certain impairment in these areas, together with the occasional break-through of a "passive" self-image, seems to be the cost of this widespread and generally functional identity type. To say that this particular cost--the loss of creativity--is too high reflects a value bias, and one which is too often an unconscious pillar of our own professional identities.

The second identity type--the ethnic-unsocialized--is similar to the first, the main difference being that socialization to subcultural family and community norms is less complete--but there are no ready-made substitute reference groups or values which compel the individual's identification. Here are those young sansei who are unable to escape from a sense of embarrassment attending their membership in family and community, and are fighting off a passive self-image as a result of their inability to escape. These people are often very accurate in pointing out the contradictions in the messages they get from whites, parents, and authority figures in general; humanitarianism plus opportunism, obedience plus individualism, and racism plus egalitarianism. This might be a very healthy process in individuals who eventually reorganize their identities around new values that avoid some of these contradictions. Obviously, the fewer contradictions one suppresses, the more energy is left for other things.

Often, however, the lack of adequate substitutes for ethnic norms produces a painful identity confusion. By means of externalizing the locus of control, the individual places the burden for his felt passivity

consciously on parents, on community, and on the Anglo establishment in its various manifestations. This process helps to explain the astonishing paradoxes of the militant cultural separatism often adopted by such individuals. Anglos are held universally guilty of racism and general moral failure, and parents and authority figures in the subcultural community are held guilty of having forfeited their real ethnic heritage in return for Anglo goods. The sansei who is thus alienated from ethnic as well as non-ethnic sources of belief may consider himself the true carrier of his subcultural tradition--more ethnic than the ethnically socialized. This is a frequent solution to the classical bicultural identity confusion described by Antonovsky:

> "The modern, emancipated Jew does not know fully who he is, and much of what he does know, he cannot accept...Perforce remaining the stranger, he knows not the why and wherefore. He retains the label of Jew, but has no identity acceptible to himself...One alternative is to be rid of the label Jew. Confronted by barriers from without, and the tortures of the damned from within, that betrayal would bring, few American Jews have chosen this way. The other alternative is to become authentic" (1960: 428).

For instance, many militant sansei disparage their parents' tendency to avoid discussion of the Japanese-American relocation. They see this as collaboration, for economic reasons, in a conspiracy of silence initiated by the Anglo establishment. Having been exposed to the self-conscious psychologism of Anglo youth, they do not see that their own demands for intellectual honesty at the expense of emotional sensitivity in the family are contrary to ethnic norms. The parents are used to avoiding the discussion of painful emotions such as those which surround

the relocation experience, except where the inflicting of such feelings is deemed educational and necessary. It is hard for them, having gone through the experience, to understand the pain of identity confusion which stems from their children's lack of knowledge about it. To develop a coherent picture of their place in American society, many sansei desperately need knowledge of this kind.

Many of these same sansei criticise the Japanese-American community in general for ignoring the struggles of other minorities toward self-determination, on the grounds that the battle is equally important for all true ethnics. Again they do not notice that pan-ethnic consciousness does violence to Japanese-American norms at two levels. First, it requires the acceptance of norms of other minorities--such as the direct expression of aggression, or serial polygyny--that flatly contradict Japanese-American norms. Second, this position requires adherence to an abstract, universalistic social morality which renders meaningless the particularistic functions of the subcultural community.

The gains of this identity style are clear enough. It offers an escape from the passivity which is a conscious element in the unsocialized individual's relationships with authority, and it offers a sense of social relatedness with equally alienated people of one's own and other minority groups. One of the dangers of this identity style is that this sense of relatedness is often one-sided (as certain incidents involving militant sansei with Chinese Americans or Black Americans has shown). Other more strictly psychological costs are the loss of productive energy spent in trying to reconcile a need for ethnic identity with a rejection of many ethnic values, and the disruption of community institutions and behavior patterns which continue to make sense for the ethnically socialized. The long-term costs for the individual might be

much greater if he is finally forced by social necessity to give up his claims to ethnic authenticity, but here we can only speculate.

This brings us to the third and most hypothetical identity type, which we will call the open-unsocialized. This type is based on two cases and a lot of rummaging through identity theory for an interpretive handle. Like the ethnic-unsocialized type, the open-unsocialized are marginal to both Japanese-American and Anglo-American communities. Unlike either of the ethnic identity types described, they seem to have a predominantly internal sense of control. They feel that it is possible--even necessary--to experiment with beliefs and behaviors, as individuals. This requires a lot of self-esteem to carry-off, because one has to tolerate constant doubt about the ultimate wisdom of one's acts. Searching for the source of this self-esteem, we are embarrassed to conclude that these subjects have found personal meaning in certain widely human values that put the interests of local community and of national subculture in their places. One embarrassing thing about this is that we cannot name these values, except with terribly abused words like humility, courage, and compassion. Another embarrassing thing is that this particular identity type is probably not confined to bicultural individuals, and in fact our data do not show the relation of this style to biculturalism. The problem of having to reconcile two conflicting traditions might be responsible for producing this style as a synthesis, in the cases in question, but so might also the problem of handling the abundant moral contradictions of life in general, that have nothing to do with biculturalism.

In fact, the concept of ethncity appears very unsatisfactory in describing these individuals. They are emphatically themselves, for the most part, and one has great difficulty distingulshing what is ethnic

and what is non-ethnic in their behavior (regardless, I might add, of the fact that the individuals in question both happen to be political activists). The fact that they do have bicultural backgrounds, however, justifies our attempt to identify more clearly the roles ethnicity, history, and biography have played in their development.

The question is, how can the concept of ethnic identity as we have outlined it be operationalized, so that its addition in research to historical and developmental perspectives will advance not only the psychological study of marginal man, but also the field of human development as a whole? We have begun to chip away at this problem at Langley Porter. The authors have developed a model for the study of ethnic identity. The model calls for a two-phase research design, starting with the inductive development of a series of identity structure types through the use of survey techniques, and proceeding to the study of identity dynamics in a limited number of intensive interviews.

In the first step, each subject in a multicultural survey sample would be asked to say whether he believes each of a list of statements designed to discriminate between ethnic groups is true of himself, of most members of his ethnic group, and/or of most other groups. The responses can then be classified according to the following diagram:

Is item true of most Anglos?	+				-			
Most own Ethnic Group?	+		-		+		-	
Self?	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	UNIVERSALS Too true, thus of no interest.	PERSONAL HIATUS Char. of both groups but not of self	ACCULTURATIVE IDENTITY Identification with host culture.	REJECTED HOST CHARACTERISTICS	ETHNIC IDENTITY	ETHNIC HIATUS Rejected ethnic charecteristics.	PERSONAL IDIOSYNCRASY	UNIVERSAL HIATUS Never happens, thus of no interest.
Cell Number	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H

Consensual analysis. Two levels of analysis are planned. The first is a study of stereotypical items; that is, the items which are agreed upon by the members of each group involved as characteristic of themselves and the outgroup. It is an empirical matter, of course, whether there is such agreement. If agreement exists, four types of items can be identified: (1) descriptions which are characteristic of both "most Anglos" and the ethnic group; (2) items characteristic of the group but not most Anglos (i.e., distinguishing characteristic of the group); (3) descriptions characteristic of most Anglos but not the ethnic group (i.e., negative distinguishing characteristics of the group, or positive characteristics of the majority culture); (4) descriptions characteristic of neither the group nor most Anglos (i.e., characteristics of another group or descriptions not seen as characteristic of anyone). It is of some interest whether there is agreement on some of these classifications, on all of them or none of them.

Responses will be cast into fourfold tables for each item:

Ingroup Characteristics	Outgroup Characteristic +	Outgroup Characteristic -
+	+ +	- -
-	- +	- -

The first question is whether there is consensus on the items; that is, are the cell frequencies distributed at random, or do they tend significantly to group in certain cells. The answer to this may be had by testing cell frequencies by means of Chi square from a priori expected cell frequencies of 25 per cent in each cell. Items that do not significantly differ from the a priori values will be omitted from further consensual analysis.

Cell frequencies may differ from random distribution in four ways, since the group marginals are fixed by sampling design. The acceptance of an item may be positively correlated with group membership; it may be negatively correlated with group membership; it may be accepted for nearly all people, regardless of membership; or it may be rejected by all regardless of group. This scheme corresponds, obviously, to the classification described above. The second analytic step is to select those items which not only distribute nonrandomly (determined in step 1) but also are correlated with group, either positively or negatively. The correlation index phi/phimax is appropriate; the suggested criterion for retention of the item for further study is phi/phimax equal to or greater than .85. [The index phi/phimax is essentially equivalent to the phi correlation with the exception that it corrects for marginal frequencies so that the index can theoretically be expected to range between -1.00 and 1.00. The limits of phi are variable and lie within -1.00 and +1.00, depending on how far the marginal distribution is from equality.]

The items remaining are those whose frequencies do not distribute randomly, but which are not correlated with group. These are the descriptions which are either mostly true for everybody or are mostly untrue for everybody. These items would be discarded from the analysis.

At this point we could see how members of the ethnic group in question stereotype their own group and the majority culture. Again, it is not necessary that such stereotypes exist; even if they do not exist we would have adequately sampled descriptive items which would enable us to conduct individual analyses.

<u>Individual analyses: Comparison with group consensus</u>. Scrutiny of individual protocols would take two forms. One is the comparison of

the individual's responses with the agreed upon (Consensual) stereotype. That is, we want to know to what degree the individual sees himself as similar to what the group sees as the typical group member; or, in other words, how the individual's self-image fits into the group's image of the typical group member. For some items for which there is consensus, namely those in cells C, D, E, and F of Table 1, the individual can choose, so to speak, to align his identity either with the majority characteristic or with the ethnic group characteristic (for the remaining cells of the table there is no such colce). Individual responses could thus be tallied as corresponding to the majority description or the ethnic group description, and the relative identification measured by counting the number of items agreeing with the group consensus. A simple way of summarizing this relationship is to give the individual a score of zero every time he agrees (in either a positive or negative direction) with the majority stereotype and a score of 1 for every time he agrees with the ethnic group stereotype. The sum will then indicate the relative strength of ethnic identity; high scores indicating strong ethnic identification, and low scores indicating strong majority identification.

Personal ethnic identity. The preceeding analyses have depended on consensus of stereotypical description, but there is another and possibly even more interesting way of examining individual responses to the descriptive items, and that is to see how the individual falls with respect to his own perception of ethnic and majority characteristics, entirely independent of the opinions of other group members. In this case, we would want to see how the individual places his responses in

all the cells of the table excluding cells A and H.* The remaining cells call for detailed scrutiny, both with regard to the content of the item and to the extent his responses cluster within the cells. Such information should provide highly specific information about the locus of the individual's identity, and several hypotheses about how the responses should cluster can be developed.

For example, an individual whose identity lies largely within the ethnic group should place the large number of responses in cell E and cell D, but low responses in the remaining cells. An individual who identifies largely with the majority culture should have a relatively large number of items in cell C and cell F, but low responses in the remaining cells. An individual who sees himself as highly individualistic would place most of his responses in cells B and E, and probably a moderate number in cells D and F.

Cells B and F, labeled <u>personal hiatus</u> and <u>ethnic hiatus</u>, respectively, are of especial interest. These cells represent descriptions which the respondent attributes to almost all other individuals (cell B) or to members of his ethnic group. One wonders why the respondent should reject these characteristics.

It is this analysis that would enable the researcher to code individual subjects according to predominant cell distribution patterns, thus yielding a set of <u>identity types</u> based on largely phenomenological data. The resulting typology could then be used in correlational studies. At Langley Porter, we are particularly interested in the relationship between ethnic identity types and independent measures of self-esteem,

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*These cells, A and H, in no way help to distinguish the respondent from any other individual for the purposes of studying the structure of ethnic identity. They will be resurrected when we turn to the dynamics of individual identity.

adaptation, and acculturation, as well as the standard demographic variables such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, education, occupation, generation and family structure.

Identity dynamics: The intensive study. Although survey methods would provide important structural data on ethnic identity, more dynamic formulations will require more intensive work with smaller samples of subjects who can be studied in more depth. The intensive subsample cases would be asked to provide data bearing on a wide range of content areas relating to identity. The sorts of data gathered in the second phase of the research might include perceptions of the relative importance of various content clusters; perceptions of change in ethnic identity, both within the history of the ethnic group and in the life history of the individual; and identity transformation routes--i.e., processes by which one comes to feel as he does about his ethnic identity (influences of such factors as discrimination, poverty, residential patterns, etc.).

The dynamics of the identity system could be approached through the concept of "identity work": (Wallace, 1967). This concept refers to the efforts of the individual to maintain as favorable an image of himself as possible, taking into account his perceptions of others' feelings about him, and his need for a sense of internal coherence and continuity. One derives from one's social contacts a notion of who one is like or not like, and who one ought to be like or not like. Intensive interviewing would reveal what reference groups are most relevant to the identity work for each individual at each developmental stage, and, as far as possible, how his contacts with those groups has affected his identity. One must explore the important changes that have occurred in his relationships with such groups, and his perceptions of the identity changes that were involved.

The model of identity which we have presented is based on the assumption that ethnicity is in fact a crucial factor in the development of personality in a multicultural milieu. By focusing on ethnicity, however, we don't want to sell short the historical perspective. Growing up in the age of overkill may present new developmental problems which the parental generation is not prepared to understand. Young "unsocialized" Anglos, Japanese, Chicanos, and Blacks may be more similar to one another than to their own parents in many ways. Most Americans of the generation to which the nisei belong found their identities in quiet struggles over many years. They had a sense of futurity which lent significance to small gains and carried them through setbacks. Today's monsterous absurdities of ecocide and nuclear blackmail, however, deprive the sansei and their peers (as they deprive us all) of that sense of future, and press for the immediate seizure of self-respect wherever it can be found. Little wonder that the Black radical--with his consciousness distilled through generations of futurelessness--is a genius of his generation.

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